5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

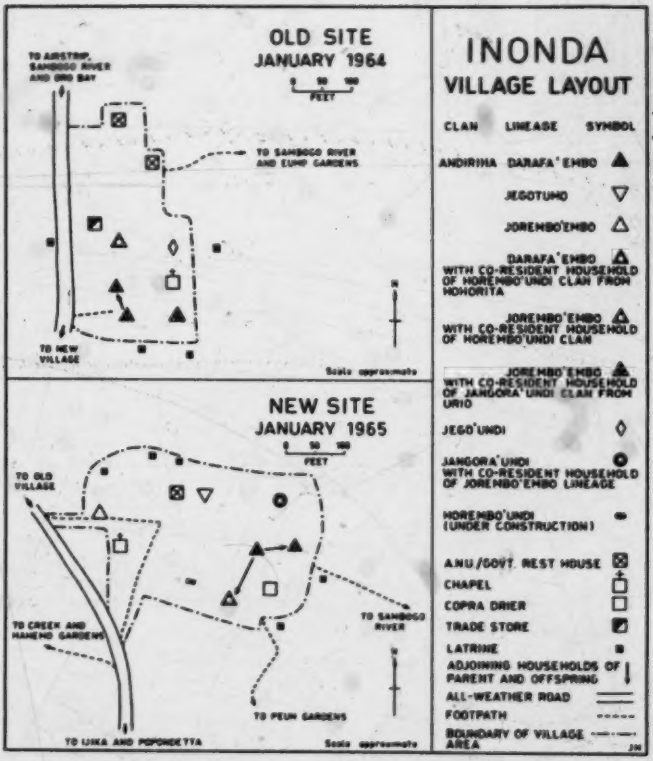


Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in 'modern' activities of which he was the champion.

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low: 42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers.

361 cultivating gardens that are more than a mile or so away from his village.

241 311 When Rinoldi made his careful notes of cultivated gardens, these seemed to be predominantly in the Northeastern part of the village domain. These gardens are ordinarily fallowed for eight years or so and then cultivated for one season. The gardens in the Southwestern part of the village domain were undoubtedly being cultivated shortly after the eruption; they are again being cultivated today. It therefore seems to make sense that after the eruption people were living in Pamba, in that part of the domain and that the new Sivepo is again in that area.

731 361 Inonda experienced three shifts since the eruption: first to the vicinity of the airstrip (1951), then to the village described by Crocombe and Hogbin (1955), then to the village where I myself stayed (established 1964; see Map VII).A The pre-eruption village was just behind this new village, again suggesting an orderly exploitation of garden land. In 1964, Inonda returned to garden land that had been fallowed since the eruption. People told me that before shifting to the present site, they had to walk much too far to their gardens.

361 659 While the layout of Pamba was traditional--with the houses close together and little space between the rows--both post-eruption settlements of Sivepo and all the four post-war Inonda settlements followed what one may call the Australian standard plan: two fairly regular parallel rows of equidistant houses facing each other, with a few houses joining the two rows, thus forming a quadrangle, and a wide field in the middle, used for playing soccer and basketball and as a separation of the two "halves" of the village which tend to belong to different clans. A modern village will contain, in [364] addition to residences, privies for each family, while some have [345] built a hall for the women's club, sponsored by the government. Inonda built a very stylish one, using as a floor a slab of concrete [575] which the Americans laid down during the war. Sivepo got no further than the foundations, after which a quarrel blocked progress. In addition all villages contain a number of arara or jataka--covered platforms where men sit and receive visitors. Many villages, including [591] Sivepo, still have a bachelor's house. Typically, each house is occupied by a two-generation family comprising no more than one married couple. A stream is always close to the village.

The change in village layout as between Pamba and the two later Sivepo villages must be discussed in a little more detail as the eruption was clearly influential here. The Australian government has long been concerned about village layouts; this interest went beyond consolidations and included the improvement of housing 657 standards, village sanitation and roads. We find Wilfred Beaver, 364 in the Annual Report for 1914-15, already claiming that he had "insisted on these three essentials in village life," in the

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]

Kumusi Division in which both Sivepa and Inonda are situated. It would be wrong, however, to imagine that the tidiness which will strike a modern visitor to Orokaiva villages may really be ascribed to resident magistrates and patrol officers. Col. Kenneth McKay who visited these villages in 1906 reported that he saw village grounds absolutely bare of grass, being swept so clean that a man might literally eat his dinner off it (quoted in Monckton, 1922: 131-132). The sweeping of village grounds as a feminine duty is, indeed, already a subject of Orokaiva mythology.

Beaver, in the report already cited, sets out his concept of village improvement as follows: "In the old days, doubtless, the people were careful enough not to leave food refuse about the village for fear of sorcery, but a good cleared space around the outskirts of the settlement was beyond them. There is certainly a danger that in maintaining this cleared area the people may be tempted to build their houses closer together, but I have not yet found this tendency." (1916: 49). Today, this cleared space around the outskirts is very sparing, though the privies that have become customary tend to be a few yards behind the houses and clearance extends just beyond them. There have, however, been interesting changes in housing architecture, to which I shall refer in due course. One significant change in the village "eco-system" has been the gradual elimination of the pig complex.

The Pre-contact house was invariably built with a pig enclosure so that man and pig spent the night together. The Australians lost no time in imposing the taboos of their own society: they did not object to human symbiosis with dogs; they even encouraged symbiosis with fowls but regarded symbiosis with pigs as the height of barbarism. The new house designs made no provision for them, so that they were left free to sleep under the houses, or elsewhere, as they wished. Since the Local Government Council was established in 1956, a vigorous campaign was conducted to eliminate them altogether. Thus, Inonda had no pigs in 1966, except for one which belonged to a Seva man who had left it with an Inonda man "to look after," and a very little one that had just been caught in the bush. When the new Sivepa was established in 1965, it was decided that this would be a pigless village; the remaining pigs were left in the old village. In practise, they wandered through the surrounding bush and gardens, so that it became useful to shoot them all as quickly as possible. Other villages, however, had not progressed so far in the direction of the pigless village ideal. Hohorita was indeed nearly pigless when I visited, but this was perhaps because a feast had been held there very recently.

Belshaw makes the following remarks about village development: "Before the eruption, a new type of village had been established in the Kokoda sub-district, consisting of a large village square of neatly clipped grass, with houses arranged in a single row along

177 Housing and village improvement: The changes in this aspect of culture are capable of fairly precise description, which has been provided in Table 10.A This table applies to Sivepe only; I shall refer to some minor differences between Sivepe and Inonda at the end of this section.
335 The changes may be analysed into several main types. First, there is
412 the extent to which European materials and tools are used. Here, we note
177 that nails were a building material as early as 1951 (and therefore also hammers), but a significant change has been the extent of their use. The introduction of nails was partly a time-saving device, as framing can be efficiently lashed together with the bark fibres traditionally used. On the other hand, the "timber" walls might not be easy to lash together and nails are probably necessary here. On the other hand, the blackpalm or betelnut which is used for the floors does not take nails at all well and the lashing is a superior technique,
177 used in almost all the houses. Secondly, there have been changes in
342 house design, and the use of materials. The increase in house size, which was the most striking of the innovations, was general throughout the village, according to a standard set by the leader and adhered to by everybody. The change from betelnut to blackpalm flooring is towards a superior, toughter material, harder to work and comparatively rare in the Sasembata district. The change from sago to "timber" walls was purely a matter of aesthetic fashion. I was told by Mr. Sobire that it started in the early 1950's in the Kokoda district; in Sasembata district it does not seem to have started until around 1965. The new houses at the mission station had "timber" walls; so had the new houses in several other nearby villages. Sivepe, being built on a new site after the fashion started was wholly built in "timber" (except for a few houses shifted from the old site and standing on the new one and gradually replaced). The "timber" looks like weatherboard,
[335] which has been used on Australian houses in the Kokoda district. It is cut from logs sawed to a length of six feet, which are then split into shingles with a bushknife, a procedure which takes much time and skill. The six feet long shingles are generally 3/8 inch thick and five inches wide. The intention is to overlap them, providing better protection against wind and rain than the sago walls have. The work of cutting the shingles is so arduous, however, that the overlap is usually quite small when the houses are built; as the logs are split green, the timber shrinks until cracks appear between the boards.

177 The third type of change is that actually advocated by European
[342] authorities. (The timber walls, according to administration officers, were a purely Orokaiva idea.) For reasons of hygiene, the administration wanted the houses to have windows, which traditionally they did not have. The new houses have large windows, but they are all blocked up with boards (to keep the wind and rain out) so that they are not functional, except in warding off criticism from Australian officials. The village
[364] improvement measures: elimination of pigs, lavatories, rubbish holes,
[351] pens for chickens; are all based on European advocacy. The neat lines of crotons and other shrubs, which are beginning to form a standard

A [See Cat. 116, p. 215--Analyst]

621 manageable size. Jovareka was definitely not a hereditary leader in
622 Sivepe; in fact, he was not even born there. On the other hand, the
625 two men he saved belonged to the leading family of the Seho clan,
614 which is the dominant clan of Sivepe. In the circumstances, the law of reciprocity demanded that the Seho clan backed Jovareka as a suitable man to be village constable. His status was accordingly greatly enhanced.

625 The scope of his role, however, may easily be exaggerated. According to Samuel, he was put through a course of training of one day. He was told about how to take a case to court and how to get and give evidence. He was told not to belt anybody, but handcuff them. He had to check that houses were built properly, that sago roofs were replaced and lavatories built. He also had to see that the men cut the grass in the village and the women swept, and that the road built by the government was properly maintained. Each village had its own stretch of road to look after, and this was subdivided into sections for each of the men. This summary tallies
[364] with the statements of other informants. We note that some of the included items (such as the women sweeping the village, the replacement of old sago roofs) are traditional activities and hardly required police supervision. Other of the included items, such as the building of lavatories, remained a dead letter until after the eruption, and it was not until 1965 that all houses actually had lavatories.
[751] Furthermore, it is only now, with the fear of sorcery diminishing under the impact of Christianity, that anyone would dare to use a lavatory.

I asked Samuel whether he had ever handcuffed anyone or had anyone jailed. No, he had never used the handcuffs. He had never brought anyone from Sivepe to court. He had sent people from other, surrounding villages to court. Tax was never collected past Sangara in his day, he said, implying that his record would not have been so serene if he had had to collect the head tax. Two Sivepe men had actually been taken to court during his period of office, but not by him; it was done by a visiting patrol, for not tending the roads, but they were let off as they had just returned from a period of plantation work. Other Sivepe informants told me that the village constable made little difference to the way of life of the people and this must, I
[627] think, be conceded. Nonetheless, Samuel was evidently called in as a mediator in quarrels in other villages and due to his influence, some cases went to court.

625 The evacuation camp seems to have placed a heavy burden on the
731 village constables as they were the middlemen between government and the village people, responsible for the distribution of food and supplies and the setting up of village organisation in the camp. The camp consisted in fact of a number of villages, closely together, in which the village constable was much more in charge than he ever had been. Permission to go back to the home area to check whether possessions had remained undisturbed and to collect food, also had to be given through the village constable who was put in charge of all such

bende--"side" of a village. The term da is applied to the total set of houses built in a single jungle clearing. The layout of a da usually resembles that given in Maps V-VIII.[A] There is an empty space in the centre, which is faced by houses, usually arranged in something like parallel rows. The centre is called araha. In the traditional village there is an area, immediately surrounding the da which is given over to sorcery and where the rubbish is thrown. This is called isapa, a word also meaning "small" and it is indeed only a narrow strip, outside which the village gardens begin. The word da is applied equally to a large village and to a settlement of two or three houses, as long as it has the features mentioned. The house or bande, if it is a permanent dwelling, is part of a da and mostly is placed on one of the two sides or rows (bende), though as the village plans show, houses are also built to complete the rectangle.

The ridgepole of a house tends to be erected along the line made by the row or bende. The floor plan is rectangular, as shown in Diagram XII.[B] The long side of the rectangle faces the araha and the door is usually in front in the centre. The house tends to be divided into two halves, a front half and a back half, the division being a wall built directly below the ridgepole. The front half tends to be a space where people sit and talk and where visitors come in the evenings, while the back half, containing the sleeping rooms, is rather more private and not usually for visitors. The back portion is often divided into two separate rooms. I have already referred briefly to some buildings that are not residences: the small ceremonial meeting places that are called arara in Sivepa, jataka in Hohorita or by either name in Inonda; the lavatories, the chickencoops (very often, indeed, the same structure); the feasthouses and visitors' sun shelters, which are temporary; and the women's club houses which are a novelty. None of these are usually placed in the regular rows, though sometimes meeting places are built next to the house of the owner.

Villages are rather compact, the houses being built at a distance of nine yards, and this distance is precisely measured in the Australian spirit of military regularity. Everyone is always within easy shouting distance of everyone else; nothing in the village goes unheard, unobserved. The two "sides" are under constant observation of one another. Movement between the houses of one side is much less conspicuous, however, than the act of crossing the araha to go to the other side. One never does this unless one has a serious reason. Movement between houses of the same side occurs continuously for ordinary gossip.

Inonda formed one da after some battles early in the century (Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 14-15); at the time of the eruption there was one da with 48 people and the village stayed together, with a slight decline in population (to 45 in 1962 and 41 in 1967) and a decline in the number of houses from 12 in 1950 to eight in 1962 and seven in 1967. When the Sewa people joined Inonda after the eruption, they did not actually, according to informants, live in the same village as the

A [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 5-End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 11(A)-End Map 11(B)--Analyst]

TABLE 10

CHANGES IN HOUSE DESIGN,
HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND
DOMESTIC AMENITIES IN SIVEPE, 1936-1966
(Comparison between standards reportedly applied
on four successive village sites)

Elements	1. Pusahambo (pre-war)	2. Pambs (between war and eruption)	3. Old Sivepe (after eruption, until 1965)	4. New Sivepe (1966)
Floor level	Raised on posts	Raised on posts	Raised on posts	Raised on posts
Flooring material	Betelnut, wide gaps	Betelnut: no gaps	Some betelnut, some blackpalm	Some betelnut, some blackpalm
Windows	No windows	No windows	Small windows	Large windows
No. of rooms	Three	Three	Three	Three
Walling material	Split sago	Split sago	Split sago	"Timber"
Nails: framing	Nil	Younger people	General	General
Nails: walls	Nil	Nil	Nil	General
Shrubs	Beside houses	Beside houses	Beside houses	To mark paths
Betelnut	Planted	Planted	Planted	Planted
Coconut	Few	More	More	More
Waste disposal	In gully	In gully	In gully	Rubbish holes
Pigs	Present	Present	Present	Absent
Hen houses	Absent	Absent	Absent	Pens built
Lavatories	Absent	Absent	A few	General
Floor area	"Very small"	"Bigger"	"Much bigger again" (200 sq. ft.)	"Big" (375 sq. ft.)

342
351
364
514
343
198

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23 Mount Lamington

744

TABLE 13

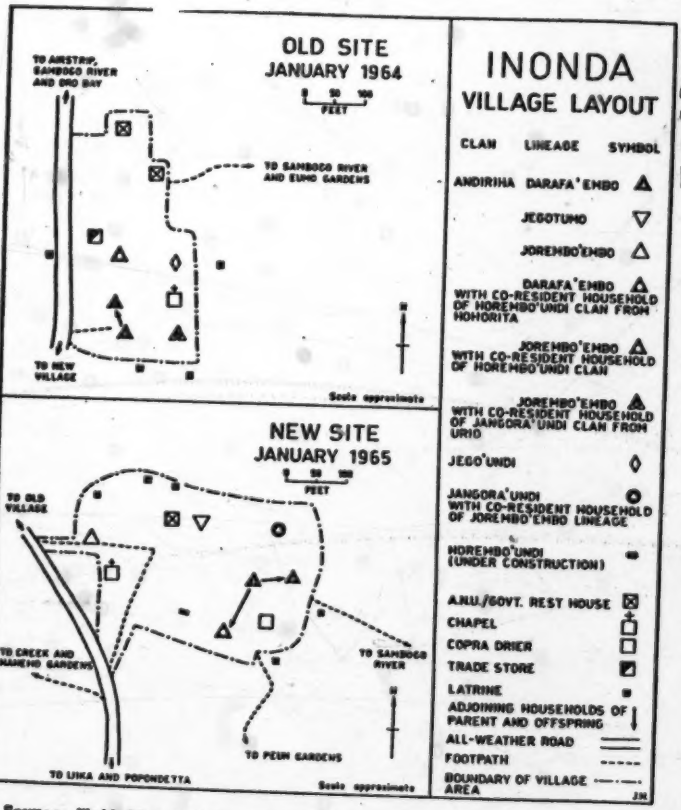
TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC HEALTH
IN THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA DURING THE
YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE 1965

(Source: Territory of Papua Report for 1964-1965: 235)

Administration	$	$
Public Health - General	2,902,012	
Medical Aid to Missions	94,698	
Maintenance of Hospitals, Engineering, Water Supply and Sewerage	320,988	
Construction of Water Supply, Sewerage, Hospitals and Ancillary Buildings	1,098,416	
Building Grants-in-Aid to Missions	31,220	
Purchase of Hospital and Medical Equipment	81,730	
	---------	4,529,064
Missions (Ascertainable Expenditure from their Own Funds)		90,012
Local Government Councils (From their Own Funds)		44,108
TOTAL		4,663,194

0[364]

Maps VII and VIII



102
361
621
491
487
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Source: Waddell & Krinks 1968: 54

[End Map 7]